

J. LUTULI

PROVINCIAL PRESIDENT, AFRICAN NATION-AL CONGRESS (NATAL) - PRESIDENT -GENERAL AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS .

Sons and Di hters of Africa:

Mayibuye ! Mayibuye ! Afrika ! Afrika !

I am glad to have the opportunity of speaking to you in absentia. In my message I want to assure you that

absentia. In my message I want to assure you that the tyrannical bans imposed on me and on my colleague, Mr. M.B.Yengwa, the Provincial Secretary, African National Congress, Natal, will not in anyway weaken the bond of comradeship with you in our noble struggle for the liberation of the Africans in their Fatherland. I remain unshaken in my confidence in you and in my firm belief in the ultimate defeat of the forces of oppression in whose vanguard in our country, the Union of South Africa, are the Nationalists of the Rev. Dr. Malan. I view the gloominess of our present situation under the Nationalists rule as the darkness that precedes the dawn; but let us not forget that this dawn will only come if all of us willingly sacrifice for the cause of free-dom we hold dear. dom we hold dear.

It is with the desire to see my province, Natal, play a noble part in the struggle for freedom that I am sending you this presidential message in which I attempt to evaluate the strength of the forces working for freedom and to show to what extent Natal is contributing to the struggle. We must admit that as members and officials we have left much undone which we should have done. I trust that this Annual Conference will inspire us to resolve afresh to spend ourselves unreservedly to the maximum limit of our time and ability to get Natal to make a worthy and noble contri-bution to the fight for freedom.

It is pleasing to note that the forces working for freedom in our country are growing. I note with thankfulness that since our last Annual Conference, at the instance of the African National Congress, there has been launched, under the joint sponsorship of four Allied National Organisations: the South African Indian Congress, the African National Congress, the Con-ress of Democrats, and the Coloured Peoples' Organisation, a campaign for the convening of a great National Assembly, "THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE" whereat, through the official delegates, the multi-racial nations of the Union of South Africa will formulate a freedom charter. Organising for this National Assembly will help us also to mobilize and consolidate effective Assembly will help us also to mobilise and consolidate effectively

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the forces of freedom in our land. The response of the people to the call to participate in the Congress of the People has been most gratifying even in our province where there was a dealy in launching the campaign.

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Equally encouraging in other centres, save Mital, has been the response to the efforts to mobilise, under the call of "RESIST APARTHEID", the opposition to the Vestern Arcas of Johannesburg removal scheme, the Bantu Education Act and recently the Rent increase in the Municipal Housing Schemes for Non-Europeans. The opposition to the Western Arcas of Johannesburg removal scheme, the Bantu Education Act has evoked widespread vigorous opposition by some leading men and women in the white community. This has been most encouraging to those of us who are in the forefront of the struggle for freedom. I would like to single out for special Mention the most outspoken and fearless opposition made by leaders of some Christian Churches, notably, the Roman Catholic Church, sections of the Church of the Province, the Congregational Union of South Africa and Presbyterian Church. General condemnation of the Apartheid policy of the Union Government has come from far and wide even from beyond our borders. The Assembly of the World Council of Churches which recently met in Evanston, Illinois, U.S.A. did not fail to register unequivocally its condemnation, on religious grounds, of this policy and so have some Church source of encouragement and inspiration to us who are victims of this policy and, no doubt, it has equally been an encouragement and inspiration to those in White South Africa who are trying to fight this Demon of Apartheid.

Let me briefly present to you some of the encouraging words of these great men of God found in eur Country and overseas. These are recent statements - <u>Dr. Webb</u>: Dr. Webb, President of the Methodist Church of South Africa, in his Presidential address to the Representative Session of the South African Methodist Conference said, inter-alia, "The Methodist Church could not accept the policy of Apartheid as being compatible with the teachings of Christ... How could Apartheid be reconciled with the second Commandment 'Thou shall love the neighbour as the self? How could it be reconciled with Christ's injunction: "Whatsoever he would that men should de unto you, do you even so unto them?"...The Church would be failing in its duty if it did not condemn a pelicy which aimed at differential treatment of any one section on the basis of colour alone. Such a policy was opposed to the Christian principles of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of Man."

In England: In distant England we heard the condemning voice of Dr. Geoffrey Fisher, the Archbishop of Canterbury: "It is grief beyond measure to us that just at this moment when, in many ways tensions are relaxing, all the portents in South Africa point to a relentless persuit of a policy towards the Native population there which is bound in the long run to be catastrophic in its effects... It was a policy regarded by almost all Christian opinion, outside the Dutch Reformed Church, as unchristian in principle... the Bishop in South Africa has again and again protested with power and charity. We, in this country, have supported them wholeheartedly, adding from time to time, our own clear judgement. The Primate made these remarks and others recently at the Synod of the Convocation of Canterbury of the Anglican Church in Southern England. The Rev. Leonard Heap: The Rev. Leonard Heap, Chairman of of the Congregational Union of South Africa, in the course of his speech at the Dutch Reformed Conference of Church leaders said, inter-alia: "Unless principles govern life instead of life dictating principles, we are ruled by egotism. The blackman we regard as useful to us as hewer of wood and drawer of water. We will have segregation, but will not have segregation with honour, because the

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blackman is indispensable to our economy. When palliatives are offered we advise the man of colour that half a loaf is better than no loaf and we disregard the fact, and it is a fact, that non-European feels that he has not even been offered a quarter of a loaf. Unless we are prepared to accept the blackman as one who has a right to help decide the common weal of all, then the only Christian thing is to decide what is good for him, not what is advantageous or expedient for us... It is easy to repeat glibly the second commandment but it is all too easy to avoid the issue by asking 'Who is my neighbour?' or by seeking to limit the demands of love. Yet here is the acid test of Christian Truth.

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The Syned of the Doicese of Johannesburg (Anglican Church): The Synod of the Diocese of Johannesburg of the Church of the Province under the Chairmanship of the Right Rev. Ambrose Reeves, has not failed the cause of Justice and fairplay. Strongly deploring the Bantu Education Act the Synod passed a resolution which said that the Synod regarded the Act as contrary to the will of God as it was based on Apartheid which attacked the natural right and dignity of man made in the image of God and was designed to ensure the perpetual domination of one racial group by the intellectual starvation of another. Continuing the resolution said: "There cannot be different types of education for different racial groups and, therefore, the Synod is of the opinion that the Act is educationally unsound and by all Christian standards is indefensible. "Some African speakers said that they would rather have their children go without education for 10 or 80 years than "dwink thispoison of Dr.Verwoerd and his government"

All this support - world wide support - we are getting in opposition to Apartheid brings forcefully to my mind this question. WHAT PART IS NATAL PLAYING IN THIS HOLY CRUSADE AGAINST THE APARTHEID POLICY OF WHITE SOUTH AFRICA LED BY THE NATIONALIST PARTY OF THE REV.DR.MALAN?

All these positive utterances, plans and activities I have referred to already should cause Natal to ask hereelf how much she is contributing in spirit and action to this holy Orusade against the apartheid policy of the Union of South Africa. I am grateful for what a few have done and are doing on behalf of Natal. We shall never forget the contribution of those from Natal who joined actively in the campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws. We applaud the hereic efforts of some of the African Workers, such as the Dook Workers, the U.T.C. Workers and others, who during this year have fought to secure their legitimate demands and rights. I here invite the public, particularly Congress people, to assist in whatever way they can the U.T.C. Workers who have to face heavy logal expenses in addition to supporting their families when they are out of work. This Conference should make an appeal to the people present to offer help. I have said that I am grateful for what has been done by a few but I must say that I am dissatisfied with the total effort of Natal to date. Natal, in my opinion, is shamefully behind other centres in this struggle. She suffers from a paralysing insular outlook which blurs, if it doesn't block altogether her vision of a United African Nation, consisting of all African Tribes of Southern Africa. This is the vision which inspired the founders of the African National Congress to lay the foundations of this National Organisation on a sound basis especially from the point of view of its objectives. Natal has lagged behind in following the natural growth of the African National Congress from being an organisation concerned almost wholly with Ambulance Work, i.e. merely seeking a redress of this and that grievance or need, to being the spearhead of a liberatory movement which seeks to place Africans and non-whites generally on the status of dignity as citizens of South Africa, on the basis of recognised human rights

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consonant with the spirit and aims of the United that are Nations Organisation and the Will of God; our Creator.

We no longer hear that clarion calls of the "Illenge Lage Natal" rallying the people to speak in one voice and to act as one; this call was admirably made under the slogan "IZWI LENINGI". Instead, this grand call has been supplanted by a mild suggestion that it is wisdom not to put all your eggs in one basket; to us this is a call to disunity.

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I shall summarise our ills in Natal thus:

(1) <u>COMPLACENCY</u>: We suffer from a deadening complemency. It might be caused by our ignorance of what freedom and liberty means and stands for we find some erroneously equating freedom with mere material well being. On the other hand our completency might be the result of our fear to pay the supreme sacrifice for freedem which throughout history has come to any people only when they were prepared to pay the supreme sacrifice for "it, that is death" itself. Those of us who know the full requirements" death itself. Those of us who know the full requirements for freedom often shirk our responsibility by salvaging our consciences by much rationalising which on the surface might appear plausible, but is not, such as saying, the people are not ready, work to change the hearts of White South Aimica first by begging for your rights and not demanding them and etc. All these are just vain excuses by people who want to evade the challenge of freedom. Complacency is one example of the saying that "the good may be the enemy of the best". We should never be deceived by Aparimuld Pellistives which are more attempts by the Aparticid Palliatives which are more attempts by the government to comouflage the evils - the poison-of Apartheid.

(2) WISHFUL THINKING: Some people shirk the struggle by in-(2) WISHFUL THINKING: Some people shirk the struggle by in-dulging in wishful thinking. They idly hope that without exerting ourselves God in his own good time will give us freedom. They forget that God may have long been waiting for willing volunteers he would harness to the cause of bringing freedom to Africa and that, therefore, it may be failing God and not God failing us. Some of these wishful thinkers entertain the hope that freedom will come through the intervention of some outside power such as U.N.O. or England which through ignorance some people still regard. as having a controlling interest in the affairs of the Union of South Africa. Wishful thinking will not lead us to freedom.

(3) FALSE PROPHETS OR LEADERS: There are some in our community

who occupy positions of " influence but in this matter of Apartheid Counsel the African people to accept this policy. These people falsely argue that half a loaf is better than no loaf. This, again, is evading the facts of Apartheid as it is practiced in the Union of South Africa where it is unashamedly used as an instrument of ensuring the perpetual domination of whites instrument of ensuring the perpetual domination of whites in violation of the DIVINE LAW of the RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY OF MAN which in practice means that man should ever

be used as a means to an end for the convenience of another person or groups. The only worthwhile objective is to work for the acquirement of full citizenship rights and laws like the Bantu Authorities, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, The Bantu Education Act are the antithesis of Democracy and they should be opposed relentlessly. They are not by any means elementary measures designed to progressively train non-Whites for full participation in a Democratic State. On the contrary they are intended to shunt off the

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Africans from the Democratic road. They are the implementation of the false doctrine of "DELLOP ALONG YOUR OWN LINES" - a mere delaying tack's. The mockery about it is that while the African is called upon to develop along on his own lines the architects of Apartheid lay out for him the foundation and the mould which will determine the nature of this so called "develop along your own lines". Some of these acts, such as the Bantu Authorities perpetuate the deadly policy of "DIVIDE AND RULE". Advocates of the acceptance of Apartheid ignore the fact that the Nationalist Government has rejected as not practical politics the proposition of total Apartheid. One of the false baits is to entice Africans with a glowing picture of protected economic opportunities they shall enjoy in the Reserves. The advocates of Apartheid forget to tell the people some of these facts about this policy:

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- (1) Land allocated as a home of 8 million Africans will be only about 13 percent of the land surface of the Union of South Africa when the Government has fulfilled its 1936 pledge to buy more land for Africans. To date the Government has bought only 63 per cent of the land they promised to get us 18 years ago.
- (11) African Reserves are already congested and eroded so that even with skilful use they can only maintain Africans in the Reserves on a low peasant standard.
- (111) Granting that there will be opportunity to carry on business, professional work, civil service work and etc, these groups form a very very small proportion of the people in any community and we should not credifice the interests of many for the benefit of a rew. Even these people cannot amass wealth among poor peasants.
- (iv) The Government has never indicated that it will remove the White Traders who are already holding valuable sites in many of these Reserves.
- (v) Regarding the suggestion that Africans might later develop industries in the Reserves one must point out that this prospect is being nullified by the Government policy of getting White industrialist to site the industries around the Reserves. In any case shall we as a people sacrifice fundamental human and social values such as free association, free movement, the right to sell our labour in the most profitable market, the right to share in determining our future and etc. Some of us are convised that, by accepting Apartheid with its limiting profisions, we shall be selling our birth right "FrameDom of OUR NATIVE LAND - AFRICA " for a mass of postage and at that, pottage of very inferior quality. Those who counsel the acceptance of Apartheid are definitely guilty of throwing overboard principles for expedients and so proving the correctness of Burke's observation when he said:- "The true danger (to liberty) is when liberty is nibbled away for expedients and by parts". They forget the fundamental truth expressed in the saying that "What is wrong in principle cannot be right in practice" or words to that effect.
- (vi) Some people advise that Africans should first aim at getting wealth and so gaining economic standing before undertaking the battle to acquire the vote. These people argue that an economic standing facilitates the acquirement of political rights. Those who proffer this advice urge African to soft-paddle the urge for politioal rights and so they accuse Congress of being unrealistic in its programme and of ignoring the immediate

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interests of Africans which, they allege, are limited to bread and butter politics such as fighting for adequate wages, better housing, etc. We do not accept this charge of neglecting these immediate needs of the people for our Congress programme enjoins local Congress officials to give immediate attention to the local needs of their areas. In our view, attention to these local needs need not cause the shelving of the fight for fundamental rights. The vote in all democratic states is the only key to Democratic Rights, privileges and obligations. It is linked indiscolubly with the respect for the dignity of man. How then can the right to vote be relegated to some unknown future time, when it is by means of a vote that White South Africa has entrenched itself while resigning the African to perpetual enslavement in its Apartmid legislationssince its advent to power the Nationalists Government has been laying a foundation for revolutionary changes in the way of life it seeks to impose on Non-Whites, especially Africans. It has done by means of the majority it has in Parliament, in other words - by means of the vote. It has not made any attempts to consult those who are to be affected by these fundamental revolutionary changes in their way of life and thinking but the African long ago set his face towards modern civilisation."

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The Nationalists have not consulted the people because they know that the apartheid measures would be rejected by the African people with the contempt they deserve. As if to add insult to injury in the case of the Native Education Act, Dr. Eiselen, Secretary for Native Affairs, speaking to the Cisbei Bunga said words which some of us regard as a mockery. He said "We have full confidence in the Bantu people and feel they want only the best for their children, for this reason we are placing Native Education in your own hands" We would ask this of the learned Doctor, the supposed Guardian of African

- (1) Will the African people have the right and opportunity to change the Bantu Education Act if they wish to do so
- (2) Will the African people have the right to make syllabuses and organisational changes in the school system as they want? If not, how could the learned Dr., the so called Guardian of African Interests, say, "We have placed Native Education in your own hands?"

Africans be not misled by false advice. The vote is the fundamental key issue in any democratic state. History shows us that the acquirement of economic status may not facilitate the obtaining of franchise right as the following examples show:-

(1) In the Boer Transvaal Republic of Paul Kruger the Uitlanders contributed handsomely to the revenue of the State and had economic status but did not enjoy political rights despite their demanding for them. This precipitated the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1900. The Anglo-Boer War was a struggle for recognition by the English, Congress does not advocate a bloody struggle but has wisely chosen the way of non-violent struggle.

- (2) In Nazi Germany the wealth the Jews possessed could not save them from being exterminated by Hitler.
- (3) Until recently Indians had opportunities to acquire economic status out this has not saved them from being deprived of the municipal franchise and denied Parliamentary franchise.

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The white man secured a hold on Africa by conquest or by friendly treaties and it is by show of military power and the vote that he is keeping the African in subjection. How could africans be indifferent to securing the right to share in the Government of the country?

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CONCLUSION:

I invite Natal in the spirit of sacrifice and devotion to a worthy cause to march along - not behind - abreast, if not ahead of the other provinces, in the fight for freedom.

In the inspiration of the cry: " AWAY WITH APARTHEID" SHE MUST JOIN IN FULL FORCE THE CRUSADE AGAINST APARTHEID.

AFRIKA : AFRIKA ! MAYIBUYE ! MAYIBUYE :

Yours in the National Cause,

A. J. LUTULI PRESIDENT, ANC, NATAL PROVINCE PRESIDENT-GENERAL, AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS.

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October, 30, 1954. P.O. GROUTVILLE MISSION, NATAL. FROM 1st NOVEMBER, 1953, MUDING OCTOBER, 1954.

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AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (PIETERMARITZBURG BRANCH)

FINANCIAL STATEMENT 30th SEPTEMBER 1954.

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RECORDS RELATING TO THE 'TREASON TRIAL' (REGINA vs F. ADAMS AND OTHERS ON CHARGE OF HIGH TREASON, ETC.), 1956 1961

TREASON TRIAL, 1956 1961

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